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and *Mntw-m-ḥ3t* (TT 34)⁶⁰ were moved from their tombs in Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna, Qurnet Mura'i and 'Asasif to Medinet Habu for unknown reasons.

Based on this finding, the relief block Boston MFA 1972.651 can be assigned to Dra' Abu el-Naga,⁶¹ where *S3-Rnnwtt*, *T3wy*'s tomb is situated.⁶² Furthermore, the two bricks UC69964 and Berlin 15704 should also be attributed to the same cemetery, Dra' Abu el-Naga, originating from his tomb.

The use of fired bricks, inscribed with the name and the titles of the tomb-owner, occurs in the superstructures of Theban tombs in the New Kingdom.⁶³ They were used above the tomb entrance and in the angles formed by the mud-brick superstructure.⁶⁴ The bricks UC69964 and Berlin 15704 are inscribed on the top (A) and the two sides (B-C), which is unusual, in contrast to the common occurrence of stamping bricks on the sides and the end.⁶⁵ This suggests that the inscriptions were meant to be visible and may have been set on the top of a low podium or plinth in the tomb. Alternatively, the curved bottom of the bricks of UC69964 and Berlin 15704 may indicate that they were part of an arch or a vault. The inscriptions, in this case, might have been hidden completely in the arch or partially showing the top and the front sides of the bricks if they were the last course of the arch.

In sum, a tentative context for the Petrie Museum brick UC69964 can be reconstructed through comparison with Berlin 15704, as follows: the brick belongs to *S3-Rnnwtt*, *T3wy*, the royal cup-bearer in the reign of Amenhotep III of the Eighteenth Dynasty. It is made of fired Nile silt and was probably bought by Petrie from Mohamed Mohasseb in Thebes. The original provenance is most probably the tomb of *S3-Rnnwtt*, *T3wy* at the Dra' Abu el-Naga upper cemetery on the Theban West Bank.

AHMED M. MEKAWY OUDA

Observations on a Ramesside letter: Papyrus Hermitage DB-1119*

The article is a publication of P. Hermitage DB-1119. The text is a Ramesside letter, possibly from the reign of Ramesses II, written in the north of the country, most probably in Per-Ramesses.

ن.ف.ماكيفا، وأ.ن. نيكولاف

ملاحظات على خطاب من عصر الرعامسة.

المقالة نشر لبردية الصومعة DB 1119، النص خطاب من عصر الرعامسة، ربما من عصر رمسيس الثاني، ومصدره في الغالب مدينة بر رمسيس شمال البلد.

THE Egyptian collection of the Hermitage contains four Ramesside letters. Two of them were published and are known to specialists. These are DB-1117¹ and DB-1118;² both are dated to the reign of Ramesses II. The third papyrus—DB-5595, which became part of the Hermitage

⁶⁰ Davies, *Egyptian Funerary Cones*, 411; Teeter, *Scarabs*, 178 [289], 179 [291], 181 [295], 182 [296], 183 [298]

⁶¹ Kozloff, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 285.

⁶² Kozloff, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 232–4; Geßler-Löhr, *Zur Datierung einiger königlicher Truchsesse*, 60–61, n. 33.

⁶³ Spencer, *Brick Architecture*, 140.

⁶⁴ L. Borchardt, 'Friesiegel in Grabbauten', *ZÄS* 70 (1934), 32, Abb. B–C; E. Kruck, *Dra' Abu el-Naga*, I. *Eindrücke: Grabkegel als Elemente Thebanischer Grabarchitektur* (Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 124; Wiesbaden, 2012), 31, Abb. 22; Spencer, *Brick Architecture*, 48, 140.

⁶⁵ Kruck, *Dra' Abu el-Naga*, Taf. 10; Spencer, *Brick Architecture*, 140 [fig. 89, pl. 37], 146.

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collection comparatively late (it was transferred in December 1930 from the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow, probably because the name and the title there were the same as in the P. Hermitage DB-1119)—was published in 2014.³ Egyptologists knew about the existence of the fourth letter, which is discussed in this article, since the publication of the catalogue of the Egyptian collection in the Hermitage by Vladimir Golénischeff in the late nineteenth century. In that book, the section ‘Manuscripts’ contains a brief description of P. Hermitage DB-1119 and its first French translation, although without any comments and reproduction of the original script.⁴ A. Gardiner saw the letter, as we know from his Notebook 37, 105–7 where one can find a hand-written transcription of the text of P. Hermitage DB-1119. The authors express deep gratitude to Elizabeth Fleming, member of the Griffith Institute, where Gardiner’s archives are kept, for the opportunity to work with the above-mentioned pages of the scholar. Jaroslav Černý studied Gardiner’s copy, as can be inferred from his archive 24/34–35, also in the Griffith Institute.⁵ Consequently, P. Hermitage DB-1119 was included as ‘unpublished’ in the list of the Hermitage papyri in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* with a reference to Černý’s notes.⁶ H. Ranke used either Gardiner’s or Černý’s copy, as there is a direct reference to the discussed text in his book.⁷

Unfortunately, we know very little about the acquisition of this piece and its entering the collection. Three unrolled papyri, not in good shape, are mentioned in the ‘General-Katalog der Sammlung ägyptischer Antiquitäten von Castiglione, bestehend aus 1200 Stücken’, which was drawn up when the Egyptian collection acquired from Francis Castiglione by the Russian Academy of Science was transferred to the Hermitage Museum, under no. 110.⁸ There are reasons to believe that these three unrolled papyri were in fact P. Hermitage DB-1117, P. Hermitage DB-1118 and P. Hermitage DB-1119. As stated by Golénischeff, the papyrus was unrolled in 1882.⁹

The document is a rectangular sheet measuring 27 by 21 cm and gathered from several fragments. There are horizontal holes in places where the papyrus was folded as well as losses along the uneven edges. Due to fresh ink or the long time of being rolled up, the recto of the papyrus has traces of ink imprinted on the inscription-free part of the sheet. There are five lines of hieratic inscription on the recto, the last being an address at the very bottom, and ten lines of hieratic inscription on the verso made in black ink. The identification of recto and verso is based on the running of fibers: on the recto side they run horizontally, on the verso vertically.¹⁰ For unknown reasons the scribe started the letter on the verso side and then continued the text on the recto with the phrase ‘another communication...’; the way it was folded (parallel to horizontal fibers) is also unusual.

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¹ J. Lieblein, *Die ägyptischen Denkmäler in St. Petersburg, Helsingfors, Upsala und Copenhagen* (Christiania, 1873), 31–4; W. S. Golénischeff, *Ermitage Imperial: inventaire de la collection égyptienne* (Leipzig, 1891), 182–3; ‘Abd el-Mohsen Bakir, *Egyptian Epistolography from the Eighteenth to the Twenty-first Dynasty* (Le Caire, 1970), pl. 19, pl. xxv; KRI, III, 489–90; E. F. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt* (Atlanta, 1990), 116, no. 137; KRI transl., III, 347.

² Lieblein, *Die ägyptischen Denkmäler*, 34–5; Golénischeff, *Ermitage Imperial*, 183; Bakir, *Egyptian Epistolography*, pl. 19/20, pl. xxvi; KRI, III, 490; Wente, *Letters*, 117 no. 138; KRI transl., III, 347–8; M. Müller, *Ramesside Letters in St. Petersburg*, in print.

³ M. Müller and A. Nikolaev, *A New Ramesside Letter with an Oath (pHermitage 5595)* (Reports of the State Hermitage Museum, LXXI; St Petersburg, 2014), 11–26.

⁴ Golénischeff, *Ermitage Imperial*, 183–4.

⁵ The Griffith Institute. Checklist of transcribed hieratic documents in the archive of the Griffith Institute. Jaroslav Černý (1898–1970) <<http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4hicerpa.html>> accessed 12.03.2014.

⁶ Papyri Leningrad, *LÄ*, IV, 719–20.

⁷ H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, I (Glückstadt, 1935), 328:7.

⁸ Archive of the State Hermitage, reserve Ф1, list 20, item 1. ‘О передаче из Императорской Академии наук собрания Египетских древностей в Эрмитаж нач. 23.6.62 конч. 23.6.62’.

⁹ Golénischeff, *Ermitage Imperial*, 183.

¹⁰ J. Černý, *Paper and Books in Ancient Egypt: An Inaugural Lecture Delivered at University College London* (London, 1952), 10.

The text of the letter, although partly damaged, can be restored and read completely. The author is the scribe Nebmehy, who wishes (on verso) his brother—the scribe Huy—health and prosperity, and asks him to write letters and pray to the gods. On the recto the same Nebmehy addresses another person—a servant called Shemsu-em-Ptah—and asks him to pray to the gods for his health and prosperity, and inquires about Shemsu-em-Ptah's affairs.

Signs on the recto are more cursive compared to those on the verso.



Verso

1. [zh3.w Nb-mh]y(.t)^{a)} hr nd-hr.t n sn[=f] hnmś=f zh3.w Hw y n.j pr-Pth
2. m 'nh wd3 snb m hsj(.t) Pth^{b)} r^c-nb tw=j hr dd n Pth n.j R^c-mś-św-mrj-Imn^{c)d)} 'w.s. n
3. p3-R^c-Hr.w-3h.tj^{e)} [n3] n.j [ntr:w nb.w pr R^c-mś-św]-mrj-Imn 'w.s.^{f)}
4. [jmj snb]=k jmj 'nh=k jmj ptr[(=j) tw snb.tj^{g)}] 'nh.tj jw=j 'nh.kw mtw=j
5. mh knj=j jm=k^{h)} p3-wn h3tj=j h3p.wⁱ⁾ r-jkr hn^c dd m jrj hpr^{j)}
6. hmsj.tj kb.w^{k)} j-dd n Pth j-dd n Shm.t B3st.t^{l)} Nfrtm hr.j(w)-jb^{m)}
7. pr-Pth šd wj m p3y w^c zp p3-wn p3 hrw.ywⁿ⁾ t3 h.t
8. jw=ś rkḫ.tj t3 nty dy m-mjt.t h3b=j n=k hr mn^{o)} n.j ś^c.t^{p)} hr bw.pw=k
9. h3b n=j nfr bjn^{q)} m-mjt.t m-jrj gr m nhj m dwn n Pth r-dd
10. jnj^{r)} wj jw=j 'nh.kw mtw=k dd.t=f m-mjt.t n Hr.w Mn-hpr-R^c.w nfr sdm=k^{s)}

Recto

1. ky dd m-dd n^{t)} šdm.w śmś.w-n.j-Pth m-mjt.t tw=k mj jh zp sn.w^{u)} tw=j hr dd n
2. n3 ntr:w nb.w pr-R^c-mś-św-mrj-Imn^{v)} 'w.s.^{w)} jmj^{x)} snb=k jmj 'nh=k hn^c dd
3. jh dd=k^{y)} n Pth jnj wj^{z)} jw=j 'nh.kw p3-wn jw=j dy m-hnw p3 hrw.yw
4. bw jrj^{aa)} rmt dd jw=j r 'nh m-mjt.t jh h3b=k n=j hr 'k^{bb)} nfr sdm=k
5. zh3.w Nb-mhy(.t) n zh3.w Hw y n.j pr-Pth^{cc)}



FIG. 1. P. Hermitage DB-1119: verso. (Courtesy of the State Hermitage Museum.)



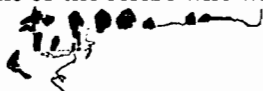
FIG. 2. P. Hermitage DB-1119: recto. (Courtesy of the State Hermitage Museum.)


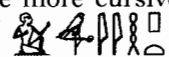

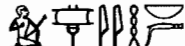

Verso





(1v.) The scribe Nebmehy greets his brother, his friend, the scribe Huy of the temple of Ptah. (2v.) In life, prosperity and health and in the favor of Ptah, every day! I am praying to Ptah of Ramesses-meriamon, l.p.h., to (3v.) Pre-Harakhti and to all the gods of [Per-Rames] ses, l.p.h. (4v.) [to keep you healthy], to keep you alive, to let me see [you in health] and alive, while I am alive, and that I (5v.) fill my embrace with you for my heart is covered (?) very much. Thus saying: Do not start (6v.) to sit around idle! Pray to Ptah, pray to Sekhmet, Bastet, Nefertum, who are in the (7v.) temple of Ptah, (that they) rescue me this one time because the enmity is flame, (8v.) which is burning, the one which is here. Also, I have sent to you with regard for several letters, but you have (9v.) sent me neither good nor bad. Don't stop praying continually to Ptah, saying: (10v.) Bring me back alive and tell this also to Horus Menkheperre. It is good if you take notice.


Recto

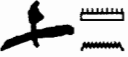

(1r.) Another communication being the words to the servant Shemsuenptah. Also: How are you? How are you? I am calling upon (2r.) all the gods of Per-Ramesses, l.p.h. to keep you healthy, to keep you alive. Further: (3r.) please, pray to Ptah to bring me back alive, for I am here in the middle of enmity (4r.) No one says: I will live. Also, would you please send (a letter) to me on your condition. It is good if you take notice. *Address:* (5r.) The scribe Nebmehy to the scribe Huy of the temple of Ptah.

a) The name of the scribe who wrote the text can be found in two places: a) in the first line on the verso , and in the last line (in the address) on the recto

. In the second case the state of preservation is better, but the signs are more cursive. Judging only by paleography of the name on the recto one may think of  (*Pthy*), but this name is unrecorded; while the fuller form on the verso, especially the determinative , indicates that it is  (*Nb-mhy(.t)*); several persons with this name are well-known from the New Kingdom.¹¹ The 'basket'-sign  *nb* is written differently in the nouns in the middle of the text, like

 (line 2 verso),  (line 2 verso), and in the proper name, where the hieratic form of the sign  (line 5 recto) resembles that of the 'reed matting'-sign  *p*. We can find the same phenomenon in other private letters of the New Kingdom, for instance, in P. Leiden I 360, recto, 1, verso 1.¹² For more examples of *Nb-mhy* in hieratic see, for instance, P. Berlin 9784, 16, 28.¹³

b) A variant of the standard preamble *m nḥ wd3 šnb m ḥsj.t Imn-R^c.w nsw.t nṯr.w*.¹⁴ In the text under consideration five signs after  are written as mere strokes; there is the name of Ptah at the end of this phrase, which goes well with the whole content of the letter. See an example of the standard preamble, for instance, in P. Leiden I 360, recto, 1-2;¹⁵ see an example of the identical preamble, for instance, in P. Leiden I 363, recto, 2.¹⁶

c) The sign group  is different from that of the line 2 recto of the papyrus where the signs  are written as two short vertical strokes.

¹¹ Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 185: 7; I. Hofmann, *Indices zu W. Helck, Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches* (Wiesbaden, 1970), 1082.

¹² J. J. Janssen, 'Nine Letters from the Time of Ramses II', *OMRO* 41 (1960), 31-47, pls III, IV.


¹³ A. H. Gardiner, 'Four Papyri of the 18th Dynasty from Kahun', *ZÄS* 43 (1906), 27-54, Taf. 1, 2.


¹⁴ Bakir, *Epistolography*, 56.


¹⁵ Janssen, *OMRO* 41, pl. iii.

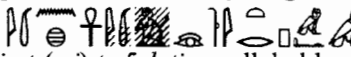
¹⁶ Janssen, *OMRO* 41, pl. vi.

d) More on this god see in Leitz's *Lexikon*¹⁷ and the work by Uphill.¹⁸ The name of the king is spelt differently in verso, 3 and recto, 2.





e) The spelling is different from the 'standard' form of the Ramesside epoch,¹⁹ as only the right side of the sign  seems to be written.



f) In some letters after Pre-Harakhti one can find '...in his rising and his sunset...', either as  (as in P. Leiden 364 and 366), or as

 (P. BM 10284,²⁰ P. Bibl. National 196, III²¹) (translation remains the same). However, the traces of signs in the damaged part do not fit any of these variants, while our reconstruction corresponds to a shorter version of this formula. The strokes of ink below the through-hole are similar to those in line 2 recto of our papyrus: *n* [*nr.w nb.w (n.w) pr R^c-ms-šw*]-*mrj-Imn* ^{c.w.s}. 'I pray to Pre-Harakhti, to all gods of [Per-Ramesses]-merimen, l.p.h.'


g) The space between the 'eye' sign and the 'pestle' sign in the lacuna is enough only for the 'man' sign: . Here we have the short variant of the epistolary formula *jmj ptr(=j) tw* ^{c.nh.tj} paralleled by *jmj ptr(=j) tw snb.tj*, 'let me see you in health' which is recorded in several examples,²² including P. Leiden I 366 recto, 6 and P. Hermitage DB-1118, recto, 4.





h) One of the common phrases at the beginning of a 'standard' Ramesside letter with tens of examples (for instance, P. Leiden I 361, recto, 3;²³ P. Leiden I 366, recto, 6²⁴ and many others²⁵).




i) All signs for  are very cursive in our text. The sign in this line is the only one that is a bit more than a mere stroke. That is why we prefer (verso, 8, 9)  rather than . The phrase is not clear. While *h3p* means 'verhüllen'²⁶, 'geheim halten'²⁷ or 'conceal'²⁸, we are not aware of the idiom *jb h3p.w*. It possibly stands for the more common expression  (*p3-wn h3tj=j m s3=k*, 'I worry about you'), often used in the Ramesside letters (e.g. P. Leiden I 363, recto, 4²⁹).

j) 'Superfluous' (compare to the standard writing) vertical stroke in sign  .

k) There is a parallel expression in LEM 4,11³⁰ without *hpr*: *m jrj hmsj kbh.tj*. The auxiliary *hpr* in our phrase must add a meaning of starting, beginning of a state of affairs.

l) This form of the hieratic sign  on P. Hermitage DB-1119 is not in Möller's list,³¹ however, the horizontal line with a loop above leaves no doubt about its identification.

m) The upper sign 'face'   in the group  is written in detail. Compare the cursive variant of the same sign, for instance, in line 1 verso, 2 verso .

n) We read the sign  in this word as  'oar',³² not as *kd*  'instrument'³³ (as there is no *d*

¹⁷ Ch. Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, III (Leuven, 2002), 174.

¹⁸ E. P. Uphill, *The Temples of Per Ramesses* (Warminster, 1984), 146.

¹⁹ G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie: Die ägyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit*, II (Leipzig, 1927), 29, no. 321.

²⁰ E. F. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Chicago, 1967), no. 29: 1-2.

²¹ Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, no. 31: 6.

²² Bakir, *Epistolography*, 63, 102.

²³ Janssen, *OMRO* 41, pl. iv.

²⁴ Janssen, *OMRO* 41, pl. xi.

²⁵ Bakir, *Epistolography*, 63, 102.

²⁶ *Wb.* III, 30:6.

²⁷ *Wb.* III, 30:16.

²⁸ L. H. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, II (2nd ed.) (Berkeley, 2004), 299.

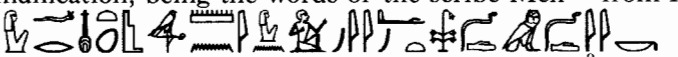
²⁹ Janssen, *OMRO* 41, pl. vi.


³⁰ A. H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (Brussels, 1937), 4, 11.

³¹ Möller, *Paläographie*, 44, no. 493.


³² Möller, *Paläographie*, 34, no. 381.




³³ Möller, *Paläographie*, 49, no. 488.

ky *dd m-dd sš Mh*, 'A further communication, being the words of the scribe Meh'⁴⁶ from P. Northumberland I, verso 5,⁴⁷ or , 'A further communication, being the words of the chantress of Amon Isisnofre...' ⁴⁸ from P. Northumberland I, recto, 11,⁴⁹ followed by the name of one more sender.

u) A frequent question in Ramesside letters,⁵⁰ formulated as *tw=tn mj jh zp-sn.w*, 'How are you? How are you?' The hieratic form of the sign  *zp* on P. Hermitage DB-1119 is extremely cursive.⁵¹ For more examples see P. Leiden I 364, recto, 8,⁵² P. Leiden I 365, verso, 1,⁵³ P. Northumberland I, 11.⁵⁴



v) See c).


w) There are four strokes after  *mn* which correspond to the 'closing part of a cartouche' and 'l.p.h.' fully (if the 'closing part of a cartouche' is made by one stroke) or partially (if the 'closing part of a cartouche' is made by two strokes).


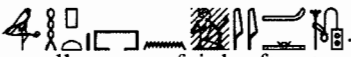







x) Clear reduction: after *j*  and *m* , easily recognizable by their forms, the following two signs  *m* are made by one stroke. The phrase itself is understandable and unambiguous. Parallels are: P. Leiden I 361, 3; P. Leiden I 363, 3; P. Leiden I 365, verso, 2.⁵⁵

y) For more on this optative construction *jh stp=k* see Junge,⁵⁶ Bakir⁵⁷ and Černý,⁵⁸ who considers it as imperative. Examples parallel to this one where the construction stands after the introductory phrase (ex. *ky dd*) are gathered by Černý.⁵⁹

z) See r).

aa) The uppermost of the two signs after negation particle  *bw* is lost almost completely; we see here a ligature for  *jrj* and read the phrase as *bw jrj rmt dd jw=j r nh*, 'No one says: I will live'. The negated Aorist might express inability to do something, so the translation 'One can not say' might be also acceptable. This expression is close in its meaning to the phrase *bw rh=j hr* 'I don't know what the future will bring', which is common for Ramesside correspondence, for instance, P. Leiden I 364, recto, 6.⁶⁰

bb) Frequently used expression in the end of the Ramesside letters.⁶¹ See parallel, for instance, in P. Hermitage DB-1117, 3-4: , 'Would you please send (a letter) to me on your condition.'

cc) The writing of the phrase *n.j pr-Pth* after the proper name of the addressee is different on the verso  if compared to the recto . On the enlarged photo of this part one can see on the recto small traces of ink after two *jj* . They seem to be parts of a short vertical stroke that substituted the hieroglyph  used as a determinative after the name. On the other hand, again on the magnified image, one can find a curved line adjacent to the horizontal *n*  which is almost certainly the right part of the hieratic form of the *pr*-sign . So we assume that there are three lower tips of the signs  between *n*  and the ligature .

⁴⁶ Wentz, *Letters*, 114; cf. J. Černý and S. I. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar* (Rome, 1978), 165.

⁴⁷ J. W. B. Barns, 'Three Hieratic Papyri in the Duke of Northumberland's Collection', *JEA* 34 (1948), pl. x.

⁴⁸ Wentz, *Letters*, 114.

⁴⁹ Barns, *JEA* 34, pl. ix.

⁵⁰ Bakir, *Epistolography*, 76.

⁵¹ Möller, *Paläographie*, 36, no. 403.

⁵² Janssen, *OMRO* 41, pl. vii.

⁵³ Janssen, *OMRO* 41, pl. x.

⁵⁴ Barns, *JEA* 34, pl. ix.

⁵⁵ Janssen, *OMRO* 41, pls iv, vi, ix.

⁵⁶ F. Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford, 2005), 140-1.

⁵⁷ Bakir, *Epistolography*, 112.

⁵⁸ Černý and Groll, *Grammar*, 404.

⁵⁹ Černý and Groll, *Grammar*, 405-6.

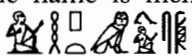


⁶⁰ Janssen, *OMRO* 41, pl. vii.

⁶¹ Bakir, *Epistolography*, 76.

The papyrus seems to belong to the corpus that is now divided between St. Petersburg and Leiden. As mentioned above, we presume that all three Ramesside letters in St. Petersburg come from the Castiglione collection. As for the Leiden Ramesside letters, they were purchased from the famous antiquarian G. Anastasi, as stated by Janssen.⁶² The French Egyptologist Aude Semat, currently working on the Castiglione collection, agreed in a personal communication that Anastasi and his agent Castiglione might have divided their holdings. There are other Egyptian antiquities originally belonging to a single complex now split between Leiden and the Hermitage (for instance, the stelae forming a Middle Kingdom cenotaph from Abydos⁶³). Two other Hermitage letters (P. Hermitage DB-1117 and DB-1118) most probably belong to the Leiden group, as both have the same origin and share characteristics typical for the Anastasi epistolary corpus.

The handwriting of P. Hermitage DB-1119 is close to that of the letters P. Leiden I 365, 366 and 367, written by the servant Merysuit (e.g. the sign for *rm*⁶⁴ the same as in P. Leiden I 365). As in P. Leiden I 361, 364 and 366, the scribe of P. Hermitage DB-1119 uses the older form of the plural article (*n3 n(j) ntr.w* in line 3 verso instead of *n3 ntr.w*).

Three names are mentioned in the letter. While the sender Nebmehy (*Nb-mhy(.t)*) is not attested in the Ramesside letters to our knowledge, the addressee's name Huy (*Hwy*) is a common one.⁶⁵ Five occurrences of this name in the private letters of the Ramesside epoch were gathered by Wente,⁶⁶ and two more can be added to them now: one in our P. Hermitage DB-1119 and one in P. Hermitage 5595.⁶⁷ Huy of P. Hermitage 5595 bears the title *zh3.w n.j pr-Pth* ('scribe of the temple of Ptah') as the addressee of our letter. The title is unknown,⁶⁸ the closest office seems to be 'Getreideschreiber des Ptahtempels'.⁶⁹ More people bearing this name are known to be connected to the temple(s?) of Ptah in the New Kingdom, but there are no grounds to identify anyone of them with the Huy of the Hermitage papyrus.⁷⁰

Another person (addressee?) mentioned in our letter is Shemsuenptah (*šms.w-n.j-Pth*). The name is mentioned by Ranke,⁷¹ who reads it, following Gardiner's transcription, as  (Ranke's reference to 'P. Hermitage 119 Rs. 10' should be corrected to recto, 1). The same name, but with *n* in the middle, is recorded on P. Leiden I 361, 1;⁷² the publisher reads⁷³ it as , while Ranke in his work⁷⁴ as . In our case (P. Hermitage), the difference in spelling can be explained phonetically: *n* becomes *m* before labial *p*, as already noticed by Ranke.⁷⁵ Shemsuenptah of P. Leiden 361 wrote the letter appealing to Ptah and all gods of Per-Ramesses.

The Leiden letters were dated by J. Janssen. He assumed that the specific Lower Egyptian forms of some hieratic signs give the terminus post quem—the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Terminus ante quem according to Janssen is the form of the plural article *n3 nj*, which was typical for the time before the Twentieth Dynasty.⁷⁶ Janssen further narrowed the date of the letters considering the names of Ramesses II's two children (prince Khaemwese

⁶² Janssen, *OMRO* 41, 31.

⁶³ A. Bolshakov and S. Quirke, *The Middle Kingdom Stelae in the Hermitage* (Utrecht, 1999), 33.

⁶⁴ Möller, *Paläographie*, 70, no. LXIX.

⁶⁵ Ranke, *Personennamen*, 223, no. 18.

⁶⁶ Wente, *Letters*, 257.

⁶⁷ Müller and Nikolaev, *A New Ramesside Letter*, 11–26.

⁶⁸ A. R. al-Ayedi, *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom* (Ismailia, 2006), nos 1800–2. Cf. W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, I (Wiesbaden, 1960), 130–5.

⁶⁹ Hofmann, *Indices*, 76 (1098).

⁷⁰ Helck, *Materialien*, 134; Hofmann, *Indices*, 75 (1097)–77 (1099).

⁷¹ Ranke, *Personennamen*, 328, no. 7.

⁷² Janssen, *OMRO* 41, pl. iv.

⁷³ Janssen, *OMRO* 41, 35.

⁷⁴ Ranke, *Personennamen*, 328, no. 7.

⁷⁵ Ranke, *Personennamen*, 328, n. 2.

⁷⁶ Janssen, *OMRO* 41, 32.

and princess Isinofre), which are mentioned in the letters.⁷⁷ So Janssen established that the letters were written at the court of Ramesses II during his lifetime; this date was followed by E. Wente⁷⁸ and it is still accepted.⁷⁹ As P. Hermitage DB-1119 belonged to the same group brought to Europe by Anastasi, and there are no obvious contradictions, the dating of the group proposed by Janssen can be also applied to the letter in St. Petersburg, i.e. the reign of Ramesses II.

In Janssen's opinion, the correspondence now in Leiden was written in Memphis, as there are notes by Leemans,⁸⁰ indicating that the letters were acquired by Anastasi in Memphis. Janssen also considered that the high-priest of Ptah Khaemwese was known to have lived in Memphis.⁸¹ However, in our view P. Hermitage DB-1119 was composed in Per-Ramesses and sent to Memphis. The sender of the message Nebmehy prays to Ptah of Ramesses, to Pre-Harakhti and 'all gods of Per-Ramesses', which could hardly be done away from the temples of these gods. Nebmehy in his turn asks the addressee to appeal to Ptah, Sekhmet, Bastet and Nefertum, 'who are in the (7r) temple of Ptah', and does not mention gods of Per-Ramesses. Ptah, Sekhmet and Nefertum form the Memphis triad, while Bastet probably pairs with Sekhmet. So the addressee was expected to pray for his friend in the temple of Memphis.

Other letters of the group are less apparent. In many letters their senders write that they pray to 'all the gods of Per-Ramesses' (P. Leiden I 360-367, P. Hermitage DB-1117, DB-1118), thus displaying their location, while the location of the addressees is not indicated. The gods mentioned are Amon of Ramesses, Ptah of Ramesses, Pre of Ramesses, Great Ka of Pre-Harakhti (which was Ramesses himself in Janssen's opinion⁸²), and Seth, who appears only once (P. Leiden I 360). One can see a strong prevalence of Ptah (also Ptah of Ramesses), who is mentioned both by the senders and the addressees in the two capitals.

We can suppose that Nebmehy (as probably the other senders) was transferred from Memphis to the newly founded Per-Ramesses and he maintained his Memphis contacts. It was a normal case with many of Ramesses' II high officials who lived and worked in Per-Ramesses; most of them appear to have been buried elsewhere, particularly in the necropolis of Memphis.⁸³ He did not feel comfortable away from home, as did other officials on errands. Unclear hints on an adverse situation are common for the Leiden letters. The senders express their anxiety for their kin and friends (P. Leiden I 360, 361, 362, 363, 366, P. Hermitage DB-1117-DB-1119) and repeat that 'we are well today, (but) don't know our condition for tomorrow (or: hereafter)' (P. Leiden I 360, 363, 364, 366, P. Hermitage DB-1117 - DB-1119). These feelings, often making up the main content of the letters, are rare in the letters of this period outside the Leiden group, although some can be found in the letters of the Twentieth Dynasty (for example, LRL 1,⁸⁴ LRL 23⁸⁵). Our letter describes the situation in Per-Ramesses as *p3 hrw.yw* ('war' or 'enmity'), which can hardly be explained from our knowledge of the political situation under Ramesses II and most probably depicts the unfriendly climate within this group of people, who were almost unknown and unrelated to each other, in this new place.

At the end of the verso side of the letter Nebmehy asks the addressee to appeal to Horus Men-kheper-ra. This is the only letter where this name is mentioned in the text.⁸⁶ To understand the appearance of the name of Thutmose III in the Ramesside letter we should

⁷⁷ Janssen, *OMRO* 41, 32.

⁷⁸ Wente, *Letters*, 31-4, 116-17, 123.

⁷⁹ A. M. Gnirs, 'Coping with the Army: The Military and the State in the New Kingdom', in J. C. Moreno Garcia (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (HdO 104; Leiden, 2013), 657-8.

⁸⁰ Janssen, *OMRO* 41, 31.

⁸¹ Janssen, *OMRO* 41, 33.

⁸² Janssen, *OMRO* 41, 33.

⁸³ J. Van Dijk, 'The Amarna Period and the Later New Kingdom', in I. Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2002), 301.

⁸⁴ Wente, *Letters*, 178, no. 295.

⁸⁵ Wente, *Letters*, 181, no. 298.

⁸⁶ Wente, *Letters*, 260, 208.

consider the seals of the Leiden letters. Three out of six sealings found on the Leiden papyri (Leiden I 365, 366, 367), all three written by the same man, bore the impression of the same seal, representing a winged scarab under the prenomen of Tuthmosis III in a cartouche.⁸⁷ We can suppose that some of the Memphis people working in Per-Ramesses were connected to the cult of this Eighteenth Dynasty king. The cult of Thutmosis III in Per-Ramesses might have remained from the time of Perunefer, which was founded by this king. The location of this main naval base of the Eighteenth Dynasty is still discussed, but Bietak made strong arguments that it was situated at the site of Avaris/Per-Ramesses,⁸⁸ thus providing a continuity for the Egyptian military base in the Eastern Delta.

To sum up, P. Hermitage JB-1119 complements the group of letters once acquired by Anastasi. It contains many amiable formulas, words about praying to gods and requests to continue praying and to report on news, being a kind of reminder, act of homage to Huy, a polite message for keeping good relations with his fellow townsmen.

N.V. MAKEEVA and A.N. NIKOLAEV

The sixteenth line of the autobiography of Henqu II at Deir el-Gebrawi*

اركاى دميثشيك

السطر السادس عشر من السيرة الذاتية لـ حنكو الثانى بدير الجبراوى

قراءة جديدة للسطر السادس عشر المقطوع من نص السيرة الذاتية للحاكم حنكو الثانى على الجدار الشرقى لمقصورة مقبرته بدير الجبراوى

In compliance with Old Kingdom orthographic norm, the split sixteenth line of the autobiography of Henqu II at Deir el-Gebrawi reads as follows:

I fulfilled (the office of)
chief of police (*hry-tp*) / overseer of Upper Egyptian barley
in this nome, and never did
I send its man (to serve) as oarsman / its man (working) on a threshing [floor] rise to
dig a well,
and his daughter to (become) an expat outside (the nome).

Henqu II's biographical inscription on the east wall of his tomb chapel in Deir el-Gebrawi is the most detailed 'professional' autobiography of any Old Kingdom nomarch.¹ Yet its

⁸⁷ Janssen, *OMRO* 41, 34.

⁸⁸ M. Bietak, 'Perunefer: The Principal New Kingdom Naval Base', *EA* 34 (2009), 15–17; Gnirs, in Moreno Garcia (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 654–5.

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¹ N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrawi, II: Tomb of Zau and Tombs of the Northern Group* (EES ASM 12; London, 1902), 27–30, pls XXII–XXVI; *Urk.* I, 76–9; N. Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi, I: The Northern Cliff* (ASE Reports 23; Oxford, 2005), 60–78, pls 51–7; S. Grunert, 'Nur für Erwachsene – political correctness auf Altägyptisch? Neue Lesungen und Interpretationen der biographischen Inschrift des Gaufürsten Henqu', *SAK* 37 (2008), 135. On the date of Henqu II's tomb now see: Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* I, 11–20, 63; J. C. Moreno García, 'Review of N. Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* I (Oxford, 2005)', *CdE* 83 (2007), 169–73; J. C. Moreno García, 'Deir el-Gebrawi', *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* <<http://escholarship.org/uc/item/99j1g8zh>> accessed 28.12.2014.